22: Métraux E4 (no date) 1927 Tupinamba
167, 175

[EJ: This entire source is concerned with an attempt at reconstructing the migrations of the various Tupi-Guarani tribes following their contact with Europeans in the 16th century. The author's conclusions as to Tupinamba and other Tupi-Guarani tribal migrations, which appear in the form of a chart and map, are reproduced in this section of the file. For detailed information on the migrations themselves and the historical evidence upon which the author bases his conclusions, the original source should be consulted.]

22: Métraux--35-36 E4 (no date) 1927 Tupinamba
116, 167, 175

CONCLUSION

In the course of these different chapters, we have seen:

1) that the first masters of the coast of Brazil were the Tapuya.
2) that they were driven out at a relatively recent date by the invasion of the Tupi-Guarani tribes who most probably overflowed onto the littoral during the fifteenth century.
3) that the Tupinamba did not conquer the Maranhão until the second half of the sixteenth century.
4) that during the four centuries which followed the conquest, there [36] occurred in different regions and directions, a great number of migrations by the Tupi-Guarani who covered distances as great as that which separates the coast of Brazil from Peru.
5) that these migrations were motivated, on the one hand by the desire to escape from slavery which the Portuguese sought to impose on the Indians, the other by the obstinate belief of the Tupi-Guarani in the existence of an earthly Paradise situated either across the sea to the east, or in the interior to the west.
6) that these migrations often had Europeans as leaders (Alejo Garcia, Mattheo, the magician priest of Claude d'Abbeville).

23: Acuña--155-156 T-3 (1639) 1698 Tupinamba-
116, 131, 167, 174, 177

"Twenty eight Leagues below the River Cayari, as we [EJ: The exploratory party traveling down the Amazon] continued our Course on the Amazone on the South-side, we arriv'd at [156] a great Island 60 Leagues in breadth, and consequently above 200 Leagues in compass. This whole Island is peopled with the valiant Toupinambous, who when Brazil was conquer'd, voluntarily exil'd themselves from their Country, choosing rather to quit all the Province of Fernambuco than to lose their Liberty, and to submit themselves to the severe Government of the Portuguez: They left above 84 great Villages where they had planted themselves, and came away so universally, that there was not one living Soul left in all their Houses. They took their way on the left-hand of those great Mountains call'd Cordeliers, which begin at the Strait of Magellan, and cross through all Southern America, from North to South. They pass'd all the Rivulets and Rivers that descend from those Mountains to discharge themselves into the Ocean. Some of 'em came as far as Peru, and dwelt with the Spaniards towards the Source of the River Cayari: they continued with 'em some time; but a Spaniard having caus'd one of 'em to be whipp'd for killing a Cow, they could not put up this Injury, but resolv'd all to be gone; and making use of the Advantage of the River, they all embark'd in their Canoos and went down it as far as this great Island, where they now dwell."

23: Acuña--157 T-3 (1639) 1698 Tupinamba
116, 167, 173

"They told us, that when their Fathers left Brazil, not knowing how to get sustenance all together in the Desarts through which they were to pass, they were constrain'd during a March of above 900 Leagues to separate by reason of their multitude, so that some went one way, and some another; and by this means all the Mountains of Peru call'd the Cordeliers are peopled with the Toupinambous. This is a very brave and valiant Nation of Indians, as they made themselves appear to be to the people whom they found in this Island, where they are at present establish'd. For in all appearance these Toupinambous were very few in comparison of the Inhabitants of this Island when they arriv'd there, yet 'tis certain they so often beat, and so entirely subdued all those they fought with, that after they had destroy'd whole Nations, they forc'd the rest to leave their Native Country in fear, and to go and plant themselves in very distant Regions."

24: Métraux--98 E4 (no date) 1948 Tupinamba
116, 101, 167, 175

"The only invasions historically recorded are those which took place in the regions of Bahía, Pernambuco, Maranhão, and Pará. The first migration of the Tupinamba (in a wider sense) to the coast is that of the Tupina (known also as Tobayara). They drove the 'Tapuya' from the seashore, but later were forced to relinquish their conquests to the Tupinamba proper and settled in the hinterland. The branch of the Tupinamba that had been warring against the 'Tapuya' did not reach the coast in time and remained on the São Francisco River, where they were known as Amoipira. The Tupinikin of Porto Seguro migrated from the north and may have been the southern wing of the same Tupinamba invasion.

The region of Maranhão was settled in the second half of the 16th century by Tupinamba from Pernambuco, where they had been defeated and driven back by the Portuguese colonists."

24: Métraux--98 [3] E4 (no date) 1948 Tupinamba
116, 167, 175, 668

"About 1540, several thousands of Tupinamba left the coast of Brazil in quest of the 'land-of-immortality-and-perpetual-rest' and, in 1549, arrived at Chachapoyas in Perú. As they mentioned having passed through a region where gold was abundant, their reports induced the Spaniards to organize several expeditions to discover El Dorado."

24: Métraux--98-99 E4 (no date) 1948 Tupinamba
116, 101, 161, 167, 175

"The Tupinambarana, discovered by Acuña (1891) on the Amazonian island that bears their name, were also Tupinamba of Pernambuco who had deserted their home country to escape Portuguese tyranny. They traveled up the Amazon River, thence up the Madeira River, finally coming in contact with Spanish settlements in eastern Bolivia. Vexed by the Spanish colonists, they returned down the Madeira River to its mouth [99] and settled the island of Tupinambarana. In 1690 they seem to have been on the decline, for the Guayarise had moved into their territory."

Tupi-Guarani S46
Tupinamba S09

T-G 773 [184] /304 cont./ All the Tupi-Guarani tribes, the northern as well as the southern ones, knew in the 16th century and still know a myth about a "Land without affliction," where men live always young and immortal, where everything grows without effort, where game falls by itself under the hunter's arrow, in a word, a kind of earthly Paradise where the great civilizing God has withdrawn after effecting his "transformations" in this world below and giving T-G [775] manioc to men. The dead will join him if they are buried according to the proper rites and if they have won out over all the ordeals which await them on the road to the Beyond. The salient feature of the "Land without affliction" is that it can be reached without necessarily going through the door of death: pious and bold men can go to live there on condition that they take the right road, are worthy of it, and know the rites. Powerful magicians have always had access to it, /Plate I appears here/ /305/ and their example has given rise to the hope that entire tribes would be able to reach it also if they were led by medicine men perfectly informed about the location of this earthly Paradise. From the 16th T-G 175 167 773 century on we can follow tribes in their quest for this promised land and see them undertake vast migrations to get there: some took place toward the east, that is, toward the ocean; others toward the west in the direction of Peru (1).

1. On the Tupi-Guarani migrations in search of the "Land without affliction," see Métraux, 1, pp. 6-22. I have analyzed the myths about the "Land-without-affliction" and studied the mystical movements these beliefs instigated in a chapter of my book on the religion of the Tupinamba (see Métraux, 3, pp. 201-224).

Ta 175 ●167 Let us cite as a reminder the migration of the Tupinamba, who in 1539 went up the Amazon to arrive in about 1549 in Chachapoyas province in Peru; the two migrations which had as their scene of action northern Brazil, in 1570 (?) and 1609, and whose religious nature is undeniable; finally, always for the coast of Brazil, the wanderings of these Tupinamba, who, having

[Text Continues on P. 16]

Tupinamba SO9
Guarani SM4
Tupi SN7

Ta 175 167 /305 cont./ left in about 1600, arrived ten years later on the middle course of the Amazon on the island of the Tupinambarana after staying at the sources of the Madeira not far from the Andes. The last in date of these ethnic movements of mystical origin is the one which led the Apapokúva-Guarani /Apapocuva/ from the frontier of Paraguay to the coast of Brazil and which lasted more than a century, from 1810 to 1912.

G 175 167

Ti 175 167 The vague knowledge that the Tupi of the Brazilian coast had about the marvels of the Inca Empire explains the trek toward the west of some of these migrations. Having arrived at the sea-coast and seeing that it was impossible to reach the "Land without affliction" in this direction, it is possible that the Tupi began to look for it in the other direction, as did several groups of the Apapokúva-Guarani not long ago. The prestige of the Inca civilization doubtless must have influenced their decision, and in many cases they certainly tended to merge it with that mythical land where they wanted so ardently to go.

Ti [174] If I risk this hypothesis, it is because of the impossibility of explaining otherwise this rush toward Peru which took place in the 16th century among certain Tupi tribes of the coast of Brazil.

Ta 174 175 167 773 Such a point of view is not too bold, for otherwise how could one justify the eagerness displayed by the Tupinamba to reach Peru after going up the Amazon in the effort they made in 1539 to enter the "land of immortality and eternal rest"? How can one explain why the Tupinamba came a century later to settle temporarily on the upper Madeira near the Andes, when they too were pursuing the chimera of the "Land without affliction" (2)?

2. When I was concerned with this migration (see Métraux, 1, pp. 22-24), I had believed, on the strength of Acuña, that the cause had been the desire to escape the tyranny of the Portuguese. Nevertheless I was not surprised to learn later while reading Heriarte's book (pp. 41-42) that these Tupinamba had undertaken this long exodus to seek the "Land without afflication." The passage in question is of the greatest interest and must be

/305 cont./

quoted in its entirety: /see the foreign text for the passage quoted in Portuguese/.

Something had to /306/ push them toward the west and determine the choice of their itinerary; the mirage which was attracting them was the one which was to cost the lives of so many Spaniards later on. It is a matter of the "great tidings" of this mysterious country abounding in riches, located beyond the forests toward the setting sun, and which the Tupinamba certainly likened and then merged with the "Land without affliction" about which the old myths told.

In the same period an analogous tendency to identify the country of the Inca with the one where the culture hero lived can be noted among the Guarani of Paraguay.

There is a very interesting, but seldom cited text which shows very well how the Guarani pictured the Inca Empire at the beginning of the 16th century. By comparing it to what we know of the myths of these same Indians, we shall be able to draw many a curious parallel, and I hope by this means to demonstrate that the Guarani believed they saw in the Inca their culture hero, Candire.

The document in question is found in the Relaciones geográficas de Indias (Vol. II, pp. LXXXIII-LXXXVII), where it comes under the following title: Relación general que se tomó en pública forma y se envió autorizada al virrey en la provincia de los Xarayes, que es en 17 grados sobre el rio Paraguay, 250 (leguas) de la Asumpcion, donde habia llegado el general Nuflo de Chaves con 150 hombres, con órden é intento de poblar en ella, y despues, por la relación que tomó paso adelante /General account which was put in published form and, authorized, was sent to the viceroy in the province of the Xaraye, which, at 17 degrees, is above the Paraguay River, 250 (leagues) from Asunción, where General Nuflo /Nufrio/ de Chaves arrived with 150 men, with orders and intent to colonize in it, and afterwards, by the account that he took further measures/.